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10. Yugoslavia has suffered greatly from civil strife during the recent war, with concomitant loss of lives and destruction of property. During the war Marshal Tito accepted the support of anyone who offered it and now cannot dispense with his worst collaborators, who would, if necessary, assassinate Tito to maintain their present position. Tito is himself a capable, energetic and brave individual, stubborn and obstinate, a Communist but possessing strong if unconscious nationalist sentiments, who has rid himself of his "reactionary" opposition and is now disposing of the followers of the Cominform. The only good reforms effected by Yugoslav Communism have been the expropriation of foreign estates and the expulsion of foreign capital from Yugoslavia. Foreigners should never again be permitted to obtain holdings in the country. The Communist agrarian reform has had a bad effect. Sovkhozi were created from certain land holdings of the state and former partisans were settled on them. Since the Yugoslav peasants, however, wish to be their own masters, working small holdings that can be left to their children, this system has proved a failure.

2. Before the quarrel with the Cominform Tito had reached the nadir of his popularity. Not more than three percent of the population ardently supported his regime. Another seventeen percent were opportunists; and eighty percent, including many holders of positions in the Government and Army, were bitterly opposed to the regime. Although not favorable toward the present Communist regime, the Yugoslav people oppose a return of the pre-war "reactionary" government. Former King Peter has little influence

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among the Serbs and none among the other South Slavs. The influence of the pre-war political parties has been destroyed. Only Macek still enjoys some influence, but his strength among the Croats is not overwhelming. In Macedonia there exists a bitter opposition to Communism and an ardent nationalism; it will be impossible ever to deprive the Macedonians of their federal status. Tito has been able to regain much of his former popularity by breaking with the Cominform and ending the ruthless Soviet exploitation of Yugoslavia.

But in any case, the people of Yugoslavia are waiting for an opportunity to rid themselves of Communism, although they are not willing to undergo sacrifices that would not bring the results desired. Internal difficulties in Yugoslavia at the present time would only bring in their wake occupation by Soviet troops, which would be far worse than the present regime. At the present time, therefore, resistance to the Tito regime exists largely in the minds of the population. It is unthinkable that the Yugoslav people would rise against Communism without having before them a political, social, and economic program that would insure a better future. Until the present time no one has presented a program that would insure a future better than life under the pre-war and Tito regimes, and a program of simple opposition to Communism will not arouse the population.

The Quarrel between Tito and the Cominform

3. The break between Tito and the Cominform is definitive and final. Tito is too proud and stubborn to seek reconciliation with Moscow, although Yugoslav internal propaganda has portrayed the quarrel as the result of misunderstandings that would sooner or later be settled satisfactorily. On the other hand, Moscow would not accept a recantation from Tito and his principal followers. Furthermore, the quarrel with the Cominform has enabled Yugoslavia to establish excellent economic contacts with the West and has brought about an improvement in economic conditions since Yugoslavia can now trade on a dollar basis with the West without entering into political or economic obligations. This is a great contrast to her position as a Soviet satellite when Yugoslav food was drained away to the USSR, Rumania and Albania, the two latter countries being in turn emptied by the Soviets. It would, therefore, be suicidal for Yugoslavia again to enter the Soviet sphere. Tito's principal collaborators are absolutely reliable. Kardelj is his "alter ego". Rankovich, who is responsible for the arrests and killings resulting from the quarrel with the Cominform, can exist only with Tito. Djilas' future is bound up with the present regime. These three, together with Tito, have in their hands complete control of the Army and the regime. Although the terroristic methods of the UDB are to be deplored, the present regime could not exist without its support. If Tito falls, it will be impossible to prevent the installation of a Soviet satellite regime in Yugoslavia. The opposition to Communism within the country is not organized and the emigre opposition is split into many small fractions and does not possess a program acceptable to the Yugoslav people. Until such a program is elaborated it will be impossible to overthrow the Tito regime. The official gave the impression that he anticipated some decisive action involving Tito's position in Yugoslavia within the next few months.

Political Organization of Yugoslavia in the Post-Liberation Period

4. The old system of multifarious political parties was harmful to Yugoslavia, providing as it did channels for Communist penetration of political life. Yugoslavia requires a single political party and a cooperative system. Only in this way can Communist penetration be forestalled. If a Western victory in a future war results in the return of the emigre politicians to power, a great part of the best elements among the opponents of Communism will resume guerrilla warfare from the mountains rather than permit the "old reactionaries" to take over the state.

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Yugoslav Policy in South America

5. The Foreign Office official illustrated his thesis that economic conditions in Yugoslavia had improved following the split with the Cominform by reference to the "excellent commercial contracts" that had been concluded with the United States, Great Britain, Italy and Argentina. At the present time Yugoslavia owes the Government of Argentina three million pesos; but after the break with the Cominform, contracts for the sale of timber in the amount of six million pesos to that country had been concluded. Present Yugoslav policy is designed to reestablish pre-war economic relations with South America, and particularly with Argentina. The Yugoslav Government also desired to repatriate Yugoslav emigrants so that they might participate in building socialism through the Five-Year Plan. Before the break with the Cominform the UDB had served as a tool of Soviet intelligence and had attempted to destroy the influence of the post-war anti-Tito emigration on earlier emigrants, a majority of whom had come to favor Tito without, however, becoming Communists. Now it keeps watch on the activities of the Cominform and Soviet intelligence. Soviet policy in South America aims toward the communization of that continent. For this reason the Russians are attempting to strengthen both the overt and underground sections of all the Communist Parties and to maintain strict discipline. In Argentina, for example, the local Party has separate sections for every nationality in the country. These so-called "idiomatic sections" relay Soviet orders to other Communist Parties represented in the country. It was for this reason that in 1947 Tito prohibited Yugoslav citizens in Argentina from continuing as members of the Argentine Communist Party. Following the break with the Cominform, however, it was discovered that approximately 200 Yugoslav citizens had disobeyed this order and had kept their membership in the Argentine Party. After the break all contact between the Soviet and Yugoslav Legations in Buenos Aires ceased, but the Soviet Minister continues to support those Yugoslav Communists in Argentina who have adhered to the Cominform. Despite this fact the Yugoslav Government has never provided the funds for a propaganda campaign against supporters of the Cominform in Argentina. The Foreign Office official declared that the Yugoslav Minister to Argentina, the consuls at Montevideo and Rosario, Argentina, and the Minister to Brazil are not members of the Yugoslav Communist Party, although all of them support Marshal Tito.

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